THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE 25 cents

VOL. VIII NO. 20 Copyright © 1971 by Huey P. Newton SATURDAY, AUGUST 5, 1972

PUBLISHED WEEKLY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY MINISTRY OF INFORMATION BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126



GERM WARFARE DECLARED AGAINST BLACKS!

HUNDREDS OF BLACK MEN DISCOVERED MASSACRED IN SYPHILIS "EXPERIMENT".

SEE ARTICLE INSIDE PAGE 2



ALSO: SEE "OAKLAND - A BASE OF OPERATION" SUPPLEMENT, PART II (PAGES A, B, C, D, IN CENTER)

SURVIVAL TICKET

VOTE FOR SURVIVAL

BOBBY SEALE FOR MAYOR OF OAKLAND

ELAINE BROWN FOR COUNCILWOMAN

GERM WARFARE DECLARED AGAINST BLACKS!

HUNDREDS OF BLACK MEN DISCOVERED MASSACRED IN SYPHILIS "EXPERIMENT".

ORIGINS IN EUROPE

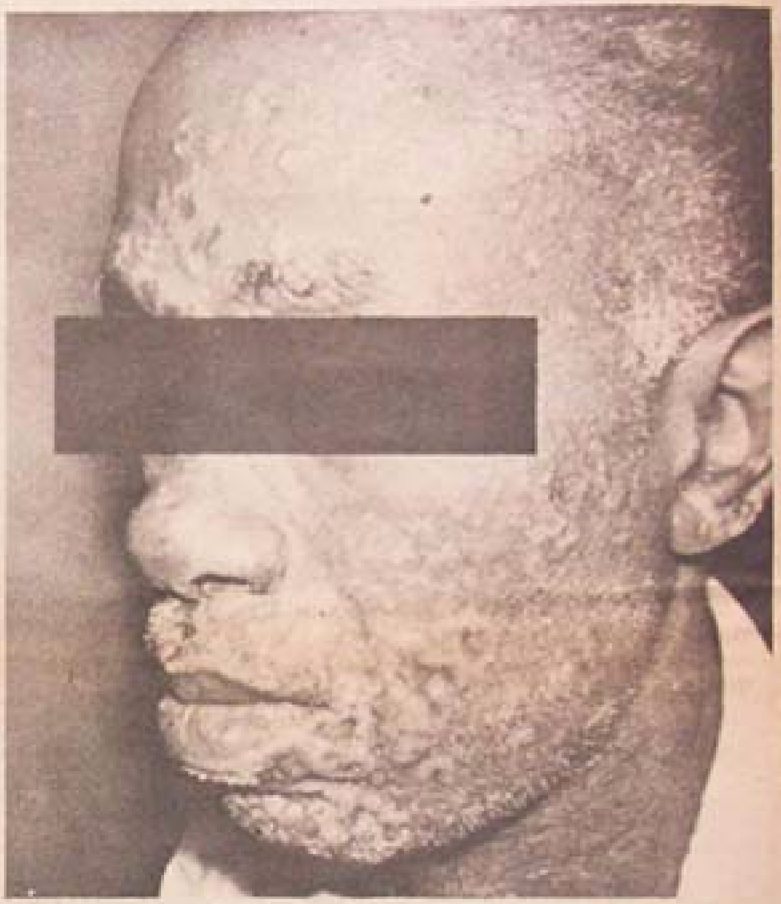
There are many theories about the origins of syphilis. Many years ago, physicians claimed that syphilis came from sheep, thereby giving the disease its name, after a Greek mythological character, Syphilis, who was a shepherd. However, modern science has proven that humans are the only form of life that can carry or contract the disease. Today, it is generally accepted, and all clinical and medical evidence points to the disease's originating in Europe, prior to slave and mercantile trade in Africa, Asia and the Americas. With the varying racist distortions appearing in Western/European history books (including so-called clinical studies), it is difficult to tell exactly at what point the disease spread to other parts of the world. In addition, through the rape and plunder that accompanied European conquerors and explorers, this disease spread throughout the world like wild-fire, to the degree where its present strain cannot seemingly be destroyed.

WHAT IS SYPHILIS?

A disease that enters the blood stream usually through the genitals (or very often through the mouth), syphilis is classified as a venereal disease. (It is interesting to note that the term "venereal" also comes from Greek mythology, named after the Greek goddess Venus, the goddess of Love. Therefore, the term venereal has come to make reference to the act of "love making".) At any rate, up until the discovery of penicillin, this disease was incurable and caused death and misery to millions. Once in the blood stream, it can assault and destroy or distort any organ or part of the body, from heart and brain to bones and skin.

Syphilis has three stages of development, and can be cured, presently, at any stage. HOWEVER, the dreaded and horrible damage the disease causes cannot usually be repaired. It is usually during the active part of the first two stages that the disease can be transmitted, through sexual intercourse, through oral contact with the genitals, or mouth-to-mouth contact. Generally, the first stage appears almost immediately in the form of a sore (on the genitals or mouth). This stage usually lasts, approximately, 2 weeks; and is, at this point, highly infectious. If untreated, the second stage will come about in, usually, 3 months, in the form of a rash (the sore having disappeared in those first 2 weeks) anywhere on the body. During the usual two weeks this rash is existent, contagion, or giving it to someone else, is possible.

Probably the most devastating outgrowth of transmitting syphilis is from mother to child. During the first 18 weeks of pregnancy, if a mother has contracted the disease, the unborn baby will be very unlikely to become infected. It seems the syphilis germ cannot enter the womb through the placenta (the umbilical cord) during this period. A mother treated at this point, no matter at what stage of syphilis she is, can be almost assured her



These poor, Black men have lived and died without benefit of knowing that when they passed this way, Life could have been better, without the racist intrusion of barbarians who dare to speak in civilized tones.

baby will not suffer as a result. However, on or after the nineteenth week, the child can become infected. Besides the fact that children born of syphilitic mothers are often still born, they can, from birth to 10 YEARS( ). show the following distortions: blindness; "saddle nose", a crushed nose bone (which condition affects speech and breathing); the second stage of syphilis; shrivelled-up skin; generally distorted bone structure, teeth, chin, etc.

Besides all the horrible damages to children of syphilitic mothers, the syphilis victim can suffer those and many other incurable effects of the disease. One prominent assault of the disease is upon the brain, which, in addition to other neurological problems, can and often does cause severe mental illness: U.S. reports admit to there being presently (up to 1971) over 1,000 people languishing in the country's mental institutions as a known and direct result of syphilis.

WHY BLACK GUINEA PIGS ?

A fundamental understanding of the horrors of syphilis

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

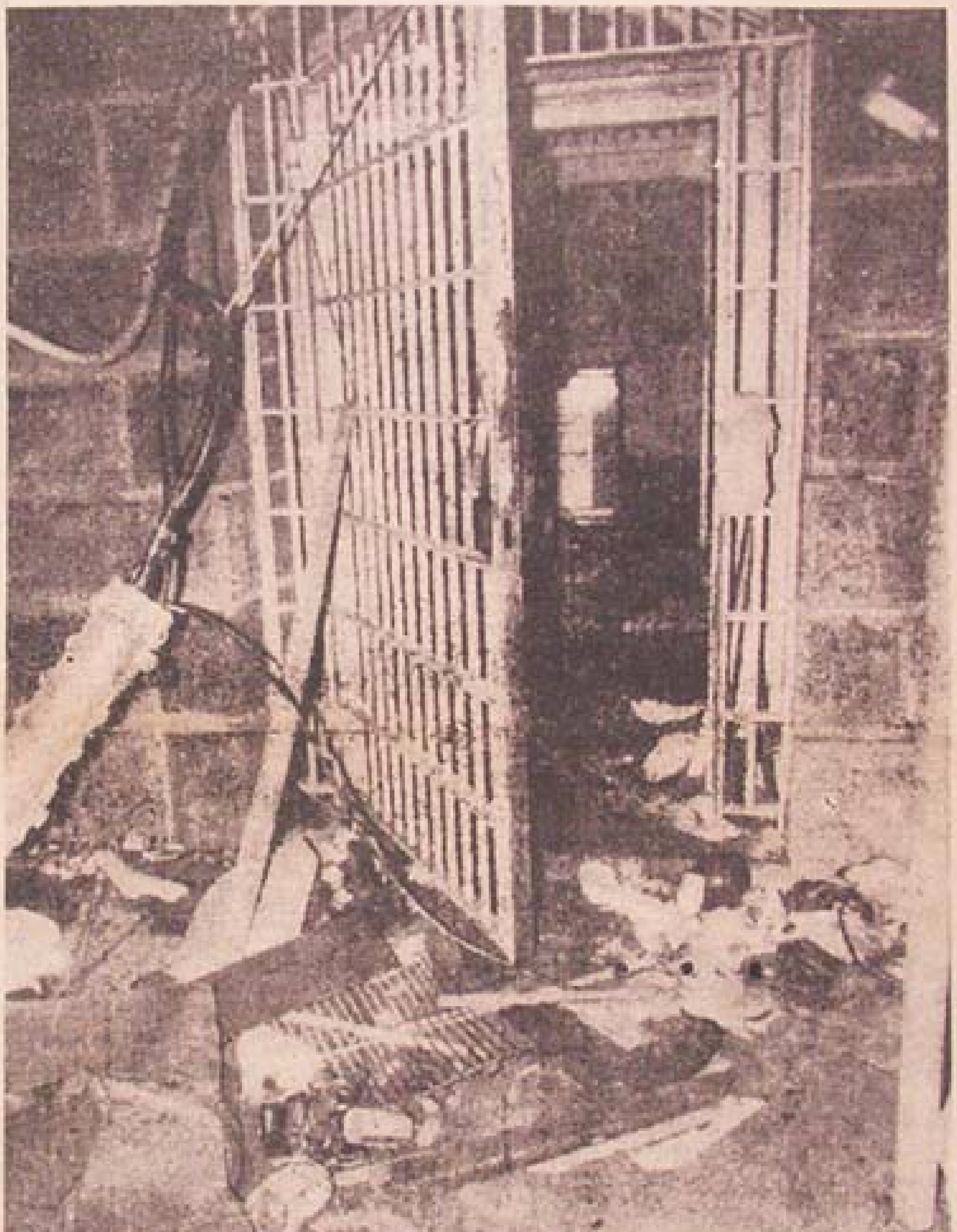
CONCENTRATION CAMPS STILL WON'T WORK: MARYLAND BROTHERS REBEL

In the past few years, the entire prison system across America has been visibly shaken by constant rebellion on the part of inmates. Leading the resistance of the prisoner class against fascist prison authorities is, of course, the Black inmate. This is so, particularly, by virtue of the rampant racism perpetrated against Black people by the U.S. empire, a racism that allows for us to be railroaded to prison en-masse, and to be subjected to the very worst of prison repression.

Black men and women have for some time been challenging the State's "right" to persecute us, from the concentration camps of Angola and Leavenworth to San Quentin and Attica. Despite the bitter, barbaric reprisals of the prison authorities, Black inmates continue to wage the struggle, demanding that we be recognized as human beings; that there be an end to the murderous brutality of racist prison guards, bent on our destruction.

Recently, in the State of Maryland, other inmate rebellions took place in the Baltimore, Maryland Penitentiary, and the Jessup, Maryland House of Correction.

In the Baltimore, Maryland Penitentiary, on Monday July 17th, 1972, 75 inmates held 4 prison employees hostage for six hours. When rebelling Brothers in the U.S. prison system find it necessary to take hostages, it is never done with the intent of harming them. It is done because the prisoners know that it is the only way that they can get some semblance of a hearing from prison officials.



The prisoners in Maryland's prisons, like we, minimum prisoners, were frustrated, angry and tired of waiting for humanity to be legislated.

The Maryland Penitentiary prisoners, out of anger and frustration, burned down an extensive portion of the prison work compound, and demanded to confer with Black Maryland Congressman Parren J. Mitchell, and white racist Maryland Governor Marvin Mandel, who both arrived in a matter of hours to negotiate with the inmates. The inmates told Mitchell and Mandel of the racist practices of the prison and demanded that the nortorious disciplinary section of the prison, called "South Wing", be permanently closed down; that inmates receive better medical care; and a complete end to brutality by guards against inmates.

Governor Mandel promised the Brothers that if they would only release the hostages he would personally see to it that there would be no reprisals against them. He also told newsmen gathered outside the prison that none of the rebelling inmates would be placed in the South Wing.

The 75 prisoners accepted Mandel's promises in good faith, and released the hostages. Mandel had lied to them. The very next day, some of the Brothers were moved to South Wing, and those inmates who had suffered injuries during the six-hour protest were denied medical treatment.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

FREE FRED BELL!

FRED BELL'S NOT SUPPOSED TO DO THOSE TEN YEARS



On July 21, 1972, BROTHER FRED BELL was re-sentenced to ten years in prison. The reason given: Fred Bell is a ''bad citizen''.

For the past two weeks the Black Panther Intercommunal NewsService has presented information concerning the case of Brother Fred Bell (Volume VIII, Nos. 18 and 19), a former member of the Student Non - Violent Coordinating Committee, who, on July 21, 1971, was re-railroaded to prison for ten years on a frame-up charge of bank robbery by the racist judicial system in the state of Texas.

The following information on Brother Fred Bell's sentencing was submitted to us by the New Bois d' Arc Patriots, in Dallas, Texas, who have been working in his behalf:

UPDATE ON FRED BELL

July 24, 1972

Justice took a backward step today in a Federal courtroom in the small city of Beaumont, Texas. Fred Bell, a Texas Organizer, serving a ten year sentence supposedly for bank robbery - actually for being too close to a solution for community ills in South Dallas - was verbally clouted on the head by a Judge who defied a directive from the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals to reduce Fred's sentence to no more than six years, instead sentenced Fred - for the second time - to ten years in a Federal prison.

(Fred was originally sentenced to six years in prison for ''aiding and abetting a bank robbery'' in the Court of Judge William Wayne Justice. On appeal in the court of Judge William Steger (a recent Nixon appointee) Fred was sentenced to ten years on ''bank robbery'' charges, although these charges were never formally made and although the convicting jury was never qualified to rule on the charge of ''bank robbery''.)

Proceedings took less than thirty minutes: U.S. Marshalls outnumbered relatives and friends of Fred Bell in the courtroom.

Judge Steger read a short statement, more than a third of which was an explanation of his ''lack of vindictiveness''. Judge Steger then informed the court that he had concluded from ''evidence adduced in the second trial, from a new presentence investigation and from other sources'' that Fred ''has had an extremely poor record as a citizen'' and consequently Steger decided ''to increase the sentence from six to ten years.''

The evidence that Steger used is totally contrived, and stems primarily from FBI investigative reports - which Fred's defense has never even been allowed to see. Even Judge Justice, in his answer to Fred's request for a reduction in sentencing, stated that the FBI had failed to ''prove the reliability of their sources of information.''

Though Steger said that Fred had ''no real desire to walk the road toward rehabilitation'', Steger never mentioned Fred's avowed desire to finish his college education, or Fred's desire to return home to his family to care for his loved ones. What Steger based his judgement on, however, was his perception that Fred would never give in, that Fred was not susceptible to the innumerable weaknesses that characterize politically appointed judges in America, he concluded that Fred did not wish to be like him - and he therefore ruled that Fred could not be ''rehabilitated''.

Steger's action is reminiscent of the behavior of Wallace, Faubus and Barnett when they defied court orders and tried to block off the doors of justice and opportunity to millions of Americans.

Fred Bell's ''crime'' is being a strong community leader working for change- his conviction and sentence, although illegal, effectively serve the needs of our greedy power structure to keep Fred isolated from the people...

(Write to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, New Orleans, Louisiana - which will soon rule on Steger's flaunting their orders; or letters should be sent directly to judge William Steger, 300 Willow Street, Beaumont, Texas 77701.)

THE BLACK PANTHER

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
8501 EAST 14th STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621
TELEPHONE: (415) 636-1986

YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $7.50
APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE RATES PENDING IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.



Although racists claimed the victims of the Tuskegee Experiment were beyond infecting anyone else, the hands above show a rash (top) and "gumma" sores, which are highly contagious and can develop in late stages of syphilis.

GERM WARFARE DECLARED AGAINST BLACKS!

HUNDREDS OF BLACK MEN DISCOVERED MASSACRED IN SYPHILIS "EXPERIMENT".

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

will tell us why, in 1932, 600 Black men were turned over to the U.S. Center for Disease Control to become part of a genocidal, syphilis experiment. This racist government, the racist rulers of this country wanted to find out how bad off they might be if they contracted sphyilis, and experimented upon innocent Blacks from Tuskegee, Alabama. Not only are Black people considered expendable, but we are un-wanted.

Recent news reports have blasted the "discovery" of this so-called "study", and the shame of it all. However, we know that just as there was not just one My Lai (Vietnamese village in which nearly 100% of its non-military, innocent population was murdered by American G.I.'s.), we know there is not and has not been just one "Tuskegee Experiment". From what can be siphoned out of racist historical records and racist news reporting, it seems that in 1932, the U.S. Public Health Service "found" that the highest incidence of syphilis existed in Tuskegee, Alabama, the majority of whose population is Black. Besides the fact that we know a real study was never done, what they purported to be a study was only among Southern States. (In 1932, the majority of this country's Blacks still lived in the South.)

After the lie that syphilis had come from sheep had become evident, and so-called scientists found they could not research the disease with any other animals, the Center for Disease Control (C.D.C.), in Atlanta, then came up with this brilliant "experiment". According to J.D. Millar, presently head of the C.D.C.'s Venereal Disease Section, 600 Black men from the "target area", Tuskegee, Alabama, were chosen to form a "test group" for syphilis. Allegedly, 400 of the men had syphilis. With this, the racist experiment was to proceed as follows: the 200 men who did not have syphilis were to be watched, to be used as the "norm group"; 200 of the syphilitic group were to be treated for syphilis, with whatever medicines were available at the time, or would be discovered (penicillin was not discovered as a cure until 1943) and also observed; and the remaining 200 were to be left un-treated, so that when they died, autopsy could reveal the internal results of the syphilis.

If it's hard to fathom the barbarity of such an experiment, consider the fact that those who were to remain un-treated were to have the benefit of free medical care for any health problem other than syphilis, and, generously, free burial after autopsy. To top this off, NOT ONE of the men received treatment for syphilis (as supposedly promised), even after the discovery of penicillin;nearly 500 of them are now dead; and very little medical information about syphilis and its damaging effects have come as a result of this "experiment"!!

THE PUBLIC RESPONSE

When this "discovery" was made known through the government controlled news media, the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service contacted Atlanta, Georgia C.D.C.'s Venereal Disease "expert" Dr. J.D. Millar. In a taped interview, Millar, with racist casualness, made the following, mostly contradictory, statements regarding the "Tuskegee Study":

QUESTION: Do you have the names of those who initiated the 1932 Tuskegee Study?

MILLAR: Well, there're a whole variety of people involved in this...I don't have the names in front of me, but, they included the Chief of the Venereal Disease Branch... (of) the Public Health Service (which) at that point... included the State Health Officer of Alabama, the Local Health Officer of Macon County, (Alabama), the Tuskegee Medical Society and the Tuskegee Institute. All of these people were involved in that initiation...but, I don't have a list with me where I could recite to you.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



Fascists proclaim syphilis comes as a result of too much sexual activity: the child (in the center photo, a hole in the roof of the mouth) born of a syphilitic mother , as well as people with such terrible mouth sores (above) have not necessarily suffered the damages of syphilis as a result of too much sexual activity.

GERM WARFARE DECLARED AGAINST BLACKS!

HUNDREDS OF BLACK MEN DISCOVERED MASSACRED IN SYPHILIS "EXPERIMENT".

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

QUESTION: In regard to Tuskegee, was that the only place where the tests were initiated, or were there other tests groups; and where were they?

MILLAR: This was the only study group done in this study. Now what did happen...was that the Public Health Service was conducting, in all the Southern States, Serologic (science of studying serums) Surveys to identify people who had syphilis. What happened was that Macon County was the highest incidence area in the entire country at that time, and that's why the site was chosen for the study...There were no other study sites, and no other patients from other areas in this study; just the one study, and just the one place.

QUESTION: Did the victims of this Tuskegee study sign any kind of contract, or were they given any kind of advice not to have sexual relations, due to the high contagiousness of syphilis?

MILLAR: Well, they didn't sign a contract to the effect, I'm quite certain...You must remember all of these people, at the time that they entered the study, had been infected with syphilis organisms for at least two years. (This) means that none of them had lesions of syphilis; and, therefore, none of them were infectious to anybody. So it was quite impossible for them to pass this disease on to anybody that they came in sexual contact with. It's just not a medical possibility.

QUESTION: How many of the patients in the original study were married?

MILLAR: That, I can't give you, off-hand; that data will be available when we finally get back into the files and look at them closely...but, I don't have it now.

QUESTION: Because the original subjects supposedly had syphilis, did you also study their wives, their children?

MILLAR: The study did not include the family members; that is, this particular study. Now, at the time of the survey, whole families were, in fact, surveyed, and blood drawn from all of them so that those patients who were identified could have included other family members, if other family members were infected...But, this particular study was restricted to males, so that questions of passing the organisms on to infants would not be an issue. You see, there's no way for a male who has had this disease for over two years to infect anybody; whereas a female who might be infected could pass on syphilis germs to her off-spring, as long as she was having babies...That ruled out the possibility of using female subjects. The work-ups of families, at that particular point, included serologic testing among families, but did not include putting family members into the study.

QUESTION: How many people have died, exactly, from the study?

MILLAR: As of now there were, have been 400 (now this is an estimate, because a lot of these people have been lost to follow up); but, from somewhere between 413 and 420 of the original 600 are now dead.

QUESTION: Where are some of the people who are still living?

MILLAR: Most of them are still residing in Macon County (Alabama) with their families; and there are some that've moved away from that area. There're some in Chicago; and, I think, some in Florida; and, I believe, some are...living on the West Coast.

QUESTION: Are the people that are still living planning to prosecute; is anyone planning to prosecute?

MILLAR: I don't know. I don't have any information on that.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



WHERE ARE THE SURVIVORS OF THE SUBTLE TUSKEGEE MASSACRE?

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

QUESTION: Has the initial agreement been kept up: that is, to provide free hot lunches, free transportation to and from hospitals, free medicine, and that type of thing, to the study's victims?

MILLAR: The free hot lunch is something that we can't account for; we don't know where that story came from... What has been in the picture is free medical care available to the patients for whatever problem they developed; and that has been kept up. There is a nurse assigned, full-time, in the Macon County Health Department to coordinate this, and see to it that the patients get whatever care they need. Transportation to and from the hospitals when needed, I think, has been kept up;but I'm not certain about that... The payments of burial expenses to the family, after death, have been kept up...

QUESTION: Isn't it true that syphilis can still be contagious, even in the advanced stage?

MILLAR: No, not in the advanced state. The only way you can get any contagiousness in the advanced state would be if you should develop a thing called a "gumma". That is a large sore, that was occasionally seen in the old days on peoples' faces, and stuff like that. That's the only way that there could be any infectiousness. Actually, most of the tertiary (third stage) syphilis complications do not involve any visible organisms, even. So that, it is not true that in the tertiary stage it is infectious. In the secondary stage, which means sometimes a year after infection, it can be very infectious; but, not in the tertiary stage.

QUESTION: Is the study still going on? On what date was the last victim signed up?

MILLAR: Well, none of them have been signed up, as it were, since the beginning. There've been some shifts in patients. In 1938, there were some 23 people with syphilis that were added to the study; but that's the last addition. People have not been signed up for this, since that time. Since that time, it's simply been a matter of evaluating and following those who were in the study. The study is still going on, in the sense that we are still providing medical care to this group, and we are still evaluating them every two years.

QUESTION: You're still evaluating them, every 2 years?

MILLAR: Right...(a) full medical examination to determine what problems they may have, that could be or could not be related to syphilis...

QUESTION: Why did this take so long to expose?

MILLAR: Well, it really didn't. There've been 15 papers published from this study, beginning in 1936, and the last one was in 1971; so it's been open to the medical public and the public for all those years.

QUESTION: Oh, it has?

MILLAR: Well, I don't know why the current interest, except, that people have been using words like "genocide", and what have you, that have stimulated a tremendous amount of interest...

More than anything, Millar's answers reveal inconsistent information about the contagiousness of syphilis; that the U.S. government has long been a full participant in this overtly genocidal experiment; that although only six hundred Black men were admittedly tested, no information is being given up on the thousands of interrelated persons, wives/children, that had to be seriously affected by this Tuskegee Study.

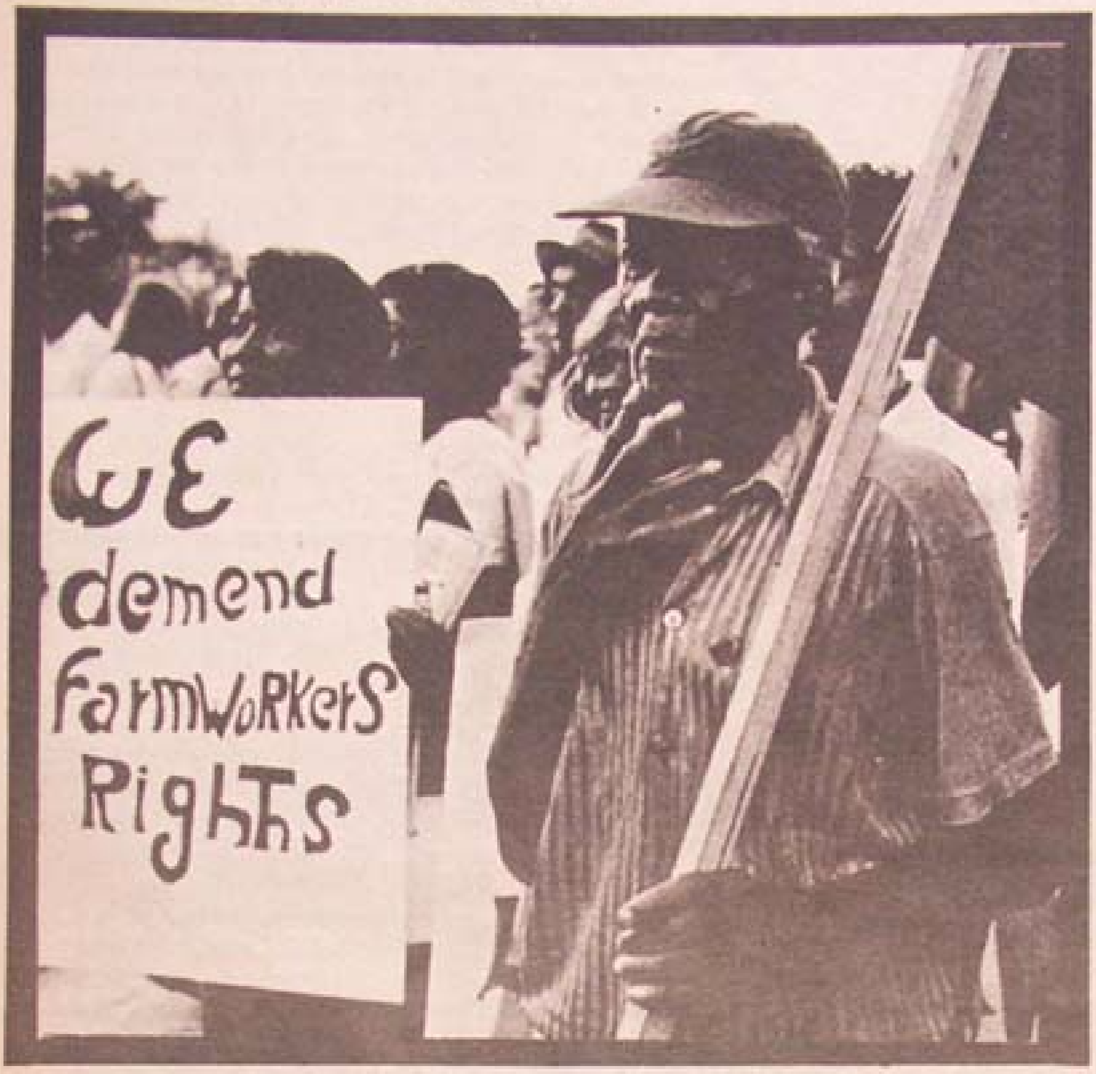
Where are the victims? Where are the survivors of the subtle Tuskegee Massacre? Most are dead.Some don't even realize what they were a part of. These poor, Black men have lived and died, or gone on without benefit of knowing that when they passed this way life could have been, should have been different, better without the racist intrusion of barbarians who dare to speak in civilized tones. They are all of us, for we have inherited their blood, and we too are part of the larger experiment, called America, that succeeded because we, Blacks, were here, but which offered us only misery and death. It is all our fight and we must all fight to bring what meager justice can be eeked out of this "experiment" to the perpetrators of such out-right evil.

THE FIRST SIGNS OF JUSTICE FOR TUSKEGEE MURDERERS

Recently, after not only discovering that the Tuskegee study had been made really without knowledge of its victims), civil rights lawyers began trying to investigate the matter in order to prosecute law violators. One of the lawyers, Brother Fred Gray of Tuskegee, Alabama, has begun a thorough investigation of the matter and is representing some of the survivors of Tuskegee. Eventually, they can prosecute those government officials who have criminally violated the law.

Whatever the outcome of these proposed legal battles, those victims who have suffered and died will certainly not be able to understand or appreciate it. It is up to us, now, also survivors of Tuskegee, to use preventive justice and guarantee our futures, our very survival with people's health care, people's control of technology, control by Black and poor people of all the institutions in our communities.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.



BROTHER LLOYD BARBEE: "The goal for Blacks, then, is leaders who can ably and successfully present their case."

A CALL FOR BLACK LEADERS WHO CAN HEAR THE PEOPLE

LLOYD BARBEE CRITICIZES DISUNITY OF BLACK LEADERS AT DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

July 19, 1972

The 1972 Democratic National Convention is the second such affair at which the Black Caucus has played a role. Because this year's convention was more open, our influence was greater.

But we did not go to Miami Beach just to choose a presidential nominee. Blacks and other have-nots wanted to press for their needs in a national political arena and to make sure their voices were heard and heeded above all the confusion and debate.

Although two different black caucuses were held at Miami Beach, Blacks never did develop a workable strategy. One group was the Black Congressional Caucus. Their main accomplishment was hopping onto George McGovern's bandwagon once they saw that most everyone else was already aboard. Up to that point, they fluctuated between different positions and candidates with the end result that they were ineffective in everything they did except talking and partying.

The second caucus consisted of Black delegates and alternates, the group in which I was most interested. Delegates and alternates were the only ones with power and who could deliver their votes. Thus they had the power to have more input in the convention process although the self-proclaimed "Party of the People" successfully rebuffed the genuine needs of the people.

Blacks are participating in the political process in greater numbers and with greater awareness. They are realizing that those persons claiming to be leaders have not been chosen by anyone except themselves. There are those who have been handpicked by whites or small cliques, which is the same as not being chosen at all.

Blacks must begin addressing themselves to the problem of selecting a committee of knowledgeable committed leaders. The short week at Miami Beach was insufficient time for all Black delegates to assess the "would be leaders" without out-shouting, out-accusing, and out-insulting one another. During a short period of competition, frustrated and confused followers do not always choose the most representative or wisest person to lead and speak for them.

However, the majority of Blacks demonstrated some ability to identify certain national self-appointed messiahs and brokers who claimed to speak for them. Until a person begins dealing with politicians so enlightened that statesmanship is involved, opportunists, hustlers, con-artists, pimps, prostitutes and jokers will abound.

Now is the time for all of us who want meaningful political solutions to this country's racial and poverty problems to take action. We must work for an open-ended mechanism for Blacks to identify their concerns and apply viable solutions to these problems until the job is done.

At the convention, there were an excessive number of so-called "coming together" meetings contrived only for show. While some may think the invitees let it all hang out, in effect they were used as rope to hang various Black and colored groups for the benefit of so-called Black ethnics and white oppressors.

The goal for Blacks, then, is leaders who can ably and successfully present their case. But the problem does not entirely stem from the fact that Blacks don't have a voice in this society. It is more appropriate to state that many leaders of this society do not have ears and cannot hear the voices of the oppressed. Thus, we can see that the answer for Blacks and other minorities is to choose their leaders with voices and ears to replace incumbent politicians who have neither.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS



(Women fighters of Vietnamese People's Liberation Army, Quang Tri Province.) It was only February when Nixon proclaimed that 90% of South Vietnam was "pacified".

NIXON'S "SMART BOMBS" PROVE DULL IN VIETNAM

VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S SPRING OFFENSIVE DEFEATING NIXON'S TECHNOLOGICAL TRICKS.

AN ANALYSIS ...BY TOM HAYDEN

Although Richard Nixon would like to present the illusion that the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam is coming to a close because American and allied strength are defeating the "communists", nothing is further from reality. If the war is coming to an end, it is because the recent Vietnamese Spring Offensive is setting plenty of fire to American troops and running them out with full speed. With computerized bombs, lasar beams, and super-electronic equipment, Nixon still cannot defeat either the fighting spirit or the fighting ability of the Vietnamese people.

Black people in the United States can look with hope to this situation. There are only, approximately, 40 million Vietnamese people; there are nearly that many Blacks in this country. The Vietnamese people, like Black people here, are a poor people, have little access to modern defensive equipment, and are faced with a giant, over-equipped war organization bent on either enslaving the people or committing complete genocide of the entire people. We, too, are faced with a similar predicament, while able to watch the mighty United States unable to achieve its military victory or its "Vietnamization" program inside a small and poor community.

The following article, to be re-printed in a series in this paper, outlines the concrete ways in which our Vietnamese Brothers and Sisters are warding off genocide, while struggling for self-determination of their homeland. This very complete report was gathered by Tom Hayden, anti-war activist, writer and one-time co-defendant of Chairman Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party during the "Chicago Trials". We would like to thank both Tom Hayden and Ramparts Magazine (from which the article was extracted) for allowing us permission to print this valuable information.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 13

BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM
MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT **WHAT WE BELIEVE**

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces, and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women inprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS STILL WON'T WORK: MARYLAND BROTHERS REBEL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Although Governor Mandel managed to trick the inmates, the racist employees of Maryland Penitentiary were not satisfied. Governor Mandel's cohort, Robert J. Lally, who is Maryland's State Corrections Chief, had previously said that prison guards would not be able to mete out any "physical or mental punishment" to the 75 inmates. This statement was, of course, made for the benefit of the news media and the public. The guards, however, "thought" that they really would not be able to take "revenge" for the rebellion. As a result, over 90 prison guards, backed by racist secretaries, janitors, and other reactionary prison personnel, staged three walkouts in protest to Lally's statement.

This little misunderstanding was resolved, however, when Lally met with the prison employees and comletely reversed his position, aligning himself with the rest of the fascist pack. (He had never, in actuality, separated from them.)



REP. PARREN MITCHELL tried in vain.

Only one day before the Maryland Penitentiary incident, inmates at the House of Correction, in Jessup, Maryland, had gathered in that prison's recreation yard and demanded-just as the Brothers at Maryland Penitentiary had done-to see Governor Mandel and Congressman Mitchell. These Brothers had also set fire to the prison; all three major wings went up in smoke. The protesting inmates, nearly all Black, numbered about 400, over half of the Maryland House of Correction prison population. Most of these inmates had towels wrapped around their faces in order not to be identified later by prison guards.

Minutes after the Brothers began protesting, a guard in a prison tower, armed with a shotgun, opened fire on them and wounded four inmates. Two guards, who happened to be caught in the recreation yard when the inmate protest started, were also wounded, by their own tower guard's indiscriminate shotgun fire.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



CONCENTRATION CAMPS STILL WON'T WORK: MARYLAND BROTHERS REBEL

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

The 400 inmates then heroically surged through two gates and filled all three sections of the prison, renewing their demand to see Governor Mandel and Congressman Mitchell. Congressman Mitchell arrived shortly afterwards, but was turned away twice by prison authorities. The prison warden, Ralph L. Williams, called in the State police, which police soon turned into about 150 state troopers and guards, some with K-9 German shepherds. Armed with over-kill weapons, re-inforced by two armored personnel carriers, the guards walked right through the main gate

When Mandel, the Governor, finally arrived at the House of Correction, it was to do no more than give the signal for the state troopers and guards to attack the inmates. He decided, however, to first put on a show of human concern for the inmates, for the benefit of the newsmedia, by asking the inmates to go back to their cells, and leave only 12 representatives behind to negotiate. Governor Mandel did not expect the Brothers to comply with his request, and was anxious to make the House of Correction Maryland's Attica, and himself, Nelson Rockefeller. The inmates, too, understood the similarity in the situation, in relation to the Attica Massacre; and knew that, like Rockefeller, Governor Mandel would not hesitate to slaughter them all. The brothers went back to their cells, therefore, leaving behind the 12 men who would air their grievances for them, cheating Mandel of a massacre.

The 12 representatives of the prisoners outlined their grievances to Mandel, Warden Williams and other prison officials. The Brothers described, for example, about how the prison doctor was only present three days a week; about the racist classification and parole procedures; and the shooting of the four Brothers in the prison recreation yard. Racist Mandel listened to their desperate words, said he would "look into" the complaints, and immediately turned around and left the prison.

An analysis of the Jessup Prison uprising will reveal, very easily, that the prisoners in maximum prison are, like we, the minimum prisoners, frustrated, angry, tired of waiting for our humanity to be legislated into reality. The prisons of Maryland, in fact, are just a microcosm of the whole decadent prison system, of the whole of decadent America.

There was something one of the inmates involved in the uprising yelled to a passing newsman, investigating the aftermath of the prison protest: "Write about the Brother in the hospital. He was shot by the mad-dogs." We've got to DO something about it!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

NIXON'S "SMART BOMBS" PROVE DULL IN VIETNAM

VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S SPRING OFFENSIVE DEFEATING NIXON'S TECHNOLOGICAL TRICKS.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

The spring offensive in Vietnam brings the generation-long war to its most critical stage. "From the beginning of the offensive until the moment of final victory we consider to be one period of continuous struggle-military, political and diplomatic. Not two periods, not three periods, but one period." These were the carefully chosen words of an important but untitled Vietnamese source when we talked in Paris in early June.

The official Vietnamese view, given by Ly Van Sau of the People's Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG) a week earlier, was nearly as optimistic: "The people's liberation armed forces have developed a position of victory, of continuous offensive...In all the big battles it is we who impose the conditions under which we fight, not the enemy."

As these declarations of optimism were made, the largest armada of B-52's in the history of aerial warfare were unleashing hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs on all of Vietnam, and the American government and mass media were declaring the offensive variously to be "stalemated", "a last gasp", "a desperate attempt to shore up a negotiating position," and some were even proclaiming its defeat. No one in Washington, however, was claiming any great successes for the U.S. trained and financed troops of the Thieu dictatorship in Saigon, and all were agreed that the B-52's were the main barrier between the Vietnamese people and the victory of their liberation war. The Nixon Administration, like administrations since 1941, still found that its military technology was being used as a protective shield around an unsalvageable and hopelessly corrupt Saigon regime. The critical nature of the crisis exposed by the spring offensive was that the Thieu regime could not stand on its own against withering and sustained revolutionary warfare. And since that regime and the Vietnamization program in general represent the last strategy seriously available to an American president, the time of final showdown in the Vietnam war seemed to have arrived.

As recently as February, Nixon was proclaiming the success of his entire Vietnamization program. He was still claiming, as he did after the 1971 incursion into Laos, that the Saigon army could "hack it." He was confident that the war would not be an issue in the election year. His Air Force secretary was reporting that the "smart bombs" of the electronic battlefield were working wonders in reducing supplies going down the Ho Chi Minh trail. Melvin Laird was asserting that an offensive by the NLF was impossible. In his State of the World message, in February, Nixon reported that 90 percent of South Vietnam was pacified. Pentagon computers designated places like BinhLong, where the battle at An Loc would rage only two months

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

NIXON'S "SMART BOMBS" PROVE DULL IN VIETNAM

VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S SPRING OFFENSIVE DEFEATING NIXON'S TECHNOLOGICAL TRICKS.

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

later, was 100 percent pacified. The Mekong Delta, scene of several hundred guerrilla attacks up to battalion size during the offensive's first three months, was considered to be a pacified area in which "all but a handful of the more than 4300 hamlets and most of the 6.8 million people" were safely in hand (Wall Street Journal, April 24, 1972). This pattern of illusion continued even to the first moment of the offensive which found Ambassador Bunker vacationing with his wife in Kathmandu. Interwoven with the illusions was a growing tendency towards "psywar" pronouncements designed to blur the negative image of Vietnam in the minds of the American voters. Psywar would reach its most blatant level in the ultimate pronouncement that the offensive was aggression from the North. This a convenient attempt to erase the fact that the real invasion was from U.S. bases in Thailand and Cambodia and aircraft carriers in the South China Sea, that Vietnam is one country with two zones of combined struggle against American aggression. William Beecher revealed the cynicism of American propaganda in the April 6 New York Times:

"For days Administration spokesmen have been intensifying their rhetoric in describing the North Vietnamese offensive as an 'invasion,' a 'blatant invasion,' and a 'naked attack' with tanks and self-propelled guns across the border. Officials privately conceded this was a conscious attempt to prepare the American public both for South Vietnamese reverses and for a possible decision to expand the war against North Vietnam."

Nixon was consistently promising that there were two roads by which he might end the Vietnam war. The first was his offer of peace negotiations, the eight points, a proposal which would have left the National Liberation Front disarmed and invited to participate in "free elections" sponsored by a Saigon regime armed and financed by the United States, and which includes 200,000 police whose primary mission is to search out and destroy NLF political cadre. The second option, Nixon said, if a negotiated settlement on his terms was unacceptable, would be continued Vietnamization of the war, bringing American offensive participation in the war to an end before the 1972 election.

The major purpose of the spring offensive, as judged by events on the battlefield, has been to utterly destroy Nixon's option of Vietnamization and to make a negotiated settlement the only possible basis for ending the war, not the settlement envisioned by Nixon in his eight points but rather along the lines of the seven point proposal of July 1971. The two main points of that rejected proposal are first that Nixon set a date for the withdrawal of U.S. forces in exchange for which American POW's would be returned simultaneously with the withdrawal, and second that the U.S. withdraw support from Thieu and his supporters, letting emerge a conditional government of the PRG, the urban opposition and elements of the former Saigon regime.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL







THE INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking and analyzing things, basic skills for living in the society and a concrete alternative to established learning institutions.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children a free, hot breakfast every school morning.

FREE BUSSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of incarcerated men and women.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with the funds to purchase necessary commissary items inside the prison.

LEGAL AID EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides full legal assistance to those involved in legal problems, as well as legal aid classes.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

THE DAVID HILLIARD PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

Provides free shoes to the people made at the David Hilliard Free Shoe factory and elsewhere.

THE ANGELA DAVIS PEOPLE'S FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

THE PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS

Provides free educational facilities and materials to Black and other oppressed children to promote a correct view of their role in the society.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the Black and other oppressed communities throughout the U.S. and the world.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Instituted to test and establish a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia, to create better educational programs around Sickle Cell Anemia and maintain an advisory committee of doctors already researching Sickle Cell Anemia.

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE SERVICE

(Being Implemented)

Provides free, 24-hour speedy transportation to people in need of emergency medical care.

FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's housing conditions.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM:

(Being Implemented)

Provides free dental check-ups and treatment for the people, as well as an educational program for dental hygiene and preventative dental care.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM:

(Being Implemented)

Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eye correctional equipment (glasses, etc.) for the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM:

(Being Implemented)

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people, who cannot find work.

COMMUNITY COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides decent housing, cooperatively owned and managed by the resident families.

PEOPLE'S FREE FURNITURE PROGRAM:

(Being Implemented)

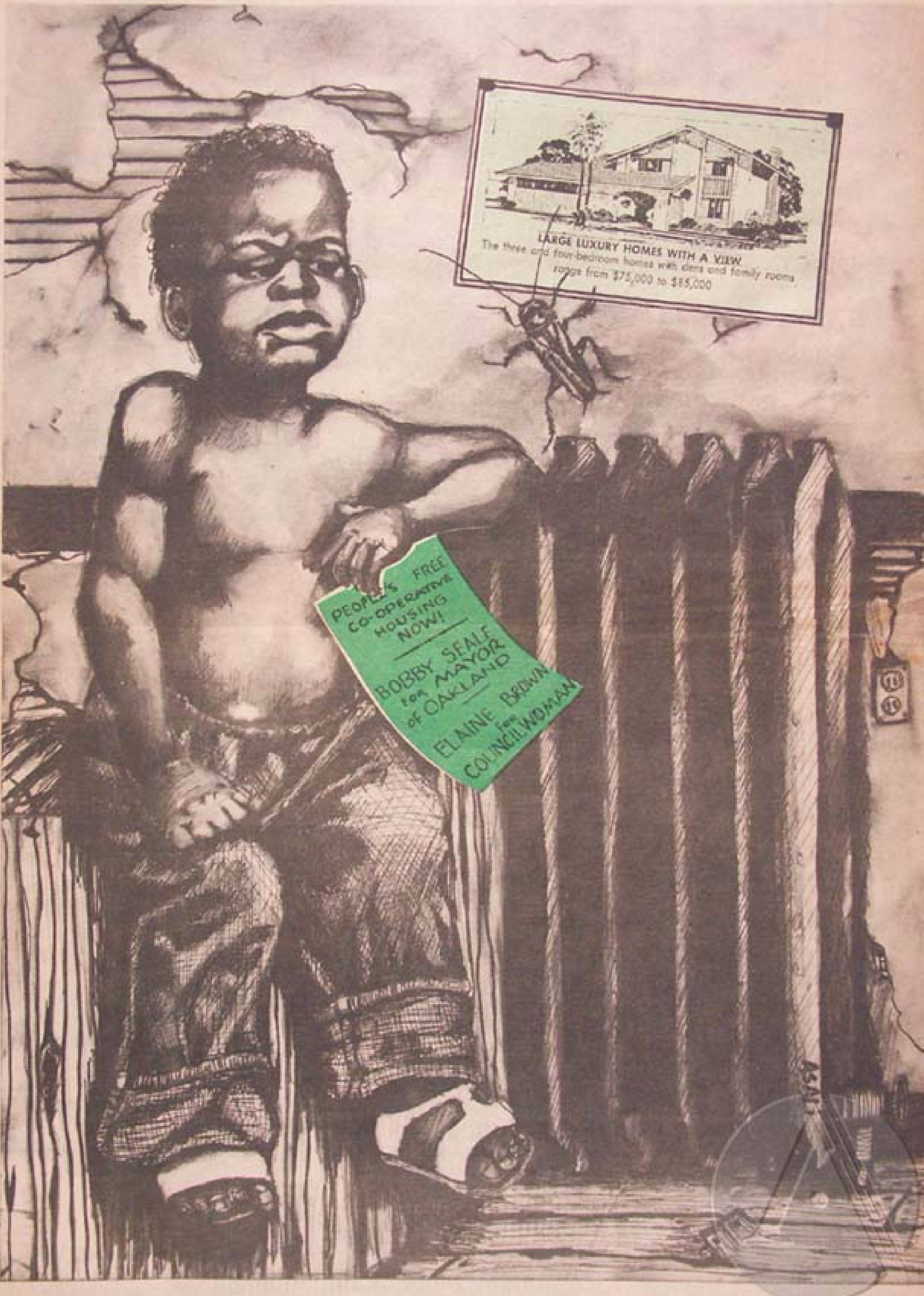
Provides free, decent furniture to improve our living standards.

PEOPLE'S FREE LINEN PROGRAM:

(Being Implemented)

Provides new sheets, towels, blankets, etc. free to the people, to make daily living more healthy and comfortable.

LAST NIGHT I DREAMT ALL MY FRIENDS CAME OVER TO SEE MY NEW ROOM AND PLAY IN MY YARD. BUT I SLEEP IN THE KITCHEN WITH MY SISTERS AND THERE ARE RATS IN THE LOT OUT BACK.



MIXED MEDIA: PENCIL, PEN, AND INK WASH